885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
AG4 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

● 834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[150] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.16

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[83.2] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family.

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth, when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

• 834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. [775] [776] The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails [302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may [834] be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack [703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [54] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way [515] that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [77]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off.